

The Future
of Leisure,
Tourism,
and Sport

Navigating Change

by

Geoffrey Godbey

and

Galen Godbey

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*To Gordon and Sarah Godbey,
who taught us the value of play as well as work.*

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Preface

**“It is not our task to predict the future,
but to be well prepared for it.”**

Pericles (5th Century BC)

As this quote illustrates, concern over what tomorrow may hold is not a new subject of discussion. The potential breadth of what might be included in *thinking about the future* without some temporal or subject area management can move from daunting to nonsensical. With the continuing acceleration of change across technologies, commerce, and cultures, foresight is a truly challenging undertaking. This is why it is such a pleasure to be asked to introduce this cogent discussion of global leisure, tourism, and sport for the coming decades. I have previously worked with Geoffrey Godbey and am always impressed by his deep understanding of cross-impact dynamics among a range of critical change-drivers that shape all of our futures, as well as his articulate assessment of what these changes will mean for outcomes across the globe. Galen Godbey’s understanding of globalization, organizational design, work and labor markets, and politics and policy making builds on Geoffrey’s insights about leisure services to produce a book of considerable breadth and vision.

The very idea of progress is being reassessed, including whether increased material well-being and prosperity is perhaps a “wild card,” holding environmental, political, and cultural side effects that we are only beginning to understand. The effects of increased mobility and energy consumption raise concerns, as do the challenges of ensuring potable water sources, affordable food, and viable energy resources throughout the new millennium. The promises of technology are exciting, but it should also be remembered that the cascading effects of change often take unexpected turns and that visions for the future do not always end in successful implementations.

The “fire hose” of information available on every imaginable subject continues to increase, but management of data has become an increasing challenge. The long-standing foresight guideline of looking for the most probable, possible, and preferable futures has served us for decades, but that third standard may be problematic. The problem comes from the analyst’s definition of preferable, which is often in the eye of the beholder. Accordingly, a balance of normative and descriptive foresight approaches is essential for an increasingly volatile world.

It often seems that political volatility, catastrophic weather, and medical disasters will never decrease, but only increase. The future will surely be a complicated place, where the “happiest” countries may not be the most prosperous or technically advanced. What is most certain is that change will continue to challenge all of us, and thoughtful books like this one will make the difference between preparing for those changes and being unprepared.

Just as virtual reality and augmented reality are changing the face of leisure and travel, so too is artificial intelligence (AI) transforming the field of forecasting, with machine learning and human–AI interface development moving at blinding speed. This is an area in which I see some promise in a bit of blue sky in the fog. A number of analytical breakthroughs in areas such as computer attention could decode the dissembled mysteries of the black-box algorithms that have put financial markets and economic models into disarray over the past decade or two. But as the next generation of “magical” computing comes on line, it seems appropriate to remember the famous quote from George Santayana, “*Those who do not remember the past are condemned to repeat it,*” in a time when last week is already ancient history.

Foresight techniques such as weak signals analysis will soon be powered by AI-driven big data approaches that are already showing clear promise. Of course, (referring back to Pericles) foresight is not the prediction of the future, but a toolkit of early warning systems looking for potential obstacles and opportunities that may loom ahead. Their success depends on their flexibility and adaptiveness, quick response times, and their ability to aid in crafting coping and mitigation strategies. Although new technologies can be transformative, the feedback loops of culture and psychology must continue to command our attention. This dialectic of change usually stirs counterforces in response, so that few new ideas go unchallenged. Those responses usually come from whose ox is most deeply gored. In the coming decades, global patterns of challenge and response will likely continue to accelerate as their consequences grow. But it will be a fascinating time, and this analysis of the future of leisure, tourism, and sport presents an illustrative look at potential effects on all our futures.

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Introduction

The Future of Leisure, Tourism, and Sport

You will live the rest of your life in the future, so it makes sense to think about it. In this book, we consider the near future and ways that all forms of leisure, particularly sport and tourism, will be affected by accelerating change. This may seem to be a fool's errand, but ignoring the possibilities of the future is even more foolish. Leisure is of central importance in the future—what will people do when they experience the absence of the necessity of being occupied? What will be worth doing when constraints are minimal? Two forms of leisure will receive special attention. Tourism can be a way of exploring the world and sport a way of exploring within playful rules. Both tourism and sport have emerged as expected parts of life, as huge components of the economy, and as the basis for careers. Some of the readers of this book are planning careers in parks, recreation, tourism, sport, fitness, and other forms of leisure.

We discuss important trends and future projections in diverse areas such as population growth, immigration, crowding, climate change, and technology. Each of these factors is important in its own right. However, these forces will interact with one another in ways that are difficult to foresee. So the best that you and your colleagues in the field of recreation, park, sport, tourism and other leisure services can do is to keep scanning the horizon and to develop a variety of broad scenarios that the interplay of the above forces may create. Strategies and flexible plans for each scenario will have to be constructed, each based upon admittedly inadequate information and major assumptions.

Decisions need to be made now or in the near future that have long-term implications. If you are working for the City of Chicago and you see respect-

able academic research that suggests that the climate of your city 30–40 years hence may be the same as New Orleans' climate is today, what kind of trees are you going to plant next year? Lovely traditional red maples that have done well curbside and that have shown beautifully in autumn, or trees that do well in swampy, humid bayou country? The future has little political constituency apart from those people who truly care about their children and grandchildren, and the easy call is to go with the red maples. But who will have to pay to have the maples chopped down and dug up if and when the climate changes?

Also, governmental policy can make a major difference with respect to each of the major variables we discuss (e.g., China's former one child per family policy, which slowed population growth, but ensured a rapidly aging society; or the failure of the US and most state governments to take global warming seriously until recently; or the possibility that robotics may abolish the agricultural jobs that have brought Mexican workers to the US in the past).

Finally, the trends and projections we cite ignore the role of personality in history (i.e., the way that certain leaders such as Franklin D. Roosevelt during the Great Depression and World War II can alter what appears to be the destiny of a nation or even the world). So do not bet the ranch on any of the specific projections in this text—our job is not to make a forecast like meteorologists make each day. It is to help you identify the key forces that are likely to affect your life and your role as a worker in the field of leisure, tourism, and sport services and to encourage you to pay attention to these factors and how they are influencing each other as you and the industry you have chosen move forward into your future.

Writing this book has been a labor of love. Galen has been a serious athlete, a starter in basketball and lacrosse at Penn State who has played against many of the best NBA players including Hall of Famers Dave Bing, Sam Jones, Wes Unseld, Billy Cunningham, Bill Bradley, and a dozen All-American college players. He has also been a tour guide and a vice president for internationalization at DeSales University, managed a senate campaign, and headed a consortium of private universities. Widely traveled, he knows India particularly well. Geoffrey has also traveled widely, coached tennis at Penn State's Abington campus, and traveled in 27 countries. In particular, China has been his interest, where he has held several academic positions.

In this book, we hand off the future to you. It is yours even as we keep our passionate interest in what will become of the world. Here is our assessment. Do what you want with it and good luck.

Section One

The Future of Leisure, Tourism, and Sport

“I come back to where I have never been.”

W. S. Merwin

A professional driver drove a Chinese man and me to see the town where he grew up. The man had told me about the village, the slow-paced downtown where open markets sold fish and vegetables. The temple. The small shops and tea houses. When we arrived, my Chinese friend began to look frightened. It was all gone. What we could see was 50 apartment buildings with numbers on them and a busy six-lane highway with a steady stream of cars and trucks going by. The apartments provided shelter for many people who had moved there. People could travel more easily to jobs by car. But his home was gone. (Geoffrey)

Things change. Today, change is out of control. History has been compressed. At no period in human history has change been more fundamental in its effect on us as humans and our chances to live and prosper. Certainly, huge changes in the past have reshaped everything—the invention of the wheel or bronze, the bubonic plague, famines and floods, pathetic wars, and huge ideas have transformed us. Yet what is at stake today is the survival of humans, big changes in human nature, the massive die-off of other animals, the fundamental increase in computer-aided intelligence, the rise of the East, the decline of religion even as it tries to reassert itself in its decline, the redefinition and the increasing power of women, and on and on. As these changes occur, it is clear we no longer understand how to relate to our environment, know what to eat, know how to relate to other living things, know what “old” or “young” means, know what gender means, or know how to raise children. Change produces uncertainty.

What is the state of the world? How about its future? What is happening, and how does change shape our chances for life, for leisure? What evidence is important in making such estimates? It has been said that the future cannot be predicted, but it has also been observed that ignoring the future is a path to disaster. So many future predictions have been correct—the movement toward solar energy, the huge increase in the human population, the changes in ability to communicate, to understand our own genetic makeup, the huge changes in energy sources. Consider the summary of futurist Ray Kurzweil (2003):

Evolution works through indirection. You create something and then work through that to create the next stage. And for that reason, the next stage is more powerful, and happens more quickly. And that has been accelerating ever since the dawn of evolution on this planet.

The first stage of evolution took billions of years. DNA was being created and that was very significant because it was like a little computer, and an information processing method to store the results of experiments, and to build up a knowledge base from which it could then launch experiments and codify the results.

The subsequent stages of evolution happened much more quickly. The Cambrian Explosion only took a few tens of millions of years to establish the body plan to evolve animals. And we see that evolution, like certain technologies, has become mature and stopped evolving. Evolution has concentrated on other issues, specifically higher cortical functions. And that happened much more quickly than the Cambrian Explosion. Humanoids evolved over many millions of years, and *Homo sapiens* over only hundreds of thousands of years. And there again, evolution used the products of its evolutionary processes, which was *Homo sapiens*, to create the next stage, which was human-directed technology, which really is a continuation of the cutting edge of the evolutionary process on earth, for creating more intelligent systems.

In the first stage of human-directed technology, it took tens of thousands of years, which is what you would expect for the next stage via the wheel, or stone tools, and that kept accelerating, because when we had stone tools, we could use them to build the next stage. So a thousand years ago a paradigm shift only took a century, like the printing press. And now a paradigm shift, like the World Wide Web, is measured in only a few years' time. The first computers were built with screwdrivers and were designed with pencil and paper, and today we use computers to create computers. A CAD designer will sit down and specify a few high-level parameters, and 12 different layers of automated designs will be done automatically. The most significant acceleration is in the paradigm shift rate itself, which I think

of as the rate of technical progress. And all of these are actually not exponential, but double exponentials because not only does the process accelerate because of our evolution's ability to use each stage of evolution to build the next stage, but also, as the process, as an area gets higher price performance, more resources get drawn into that capability. (para. 8–11)

This compression of history is unprecedented. Every country, culture, and civilization has become like an anthill that has been stomped by a large boot. The boot is massive change in every area of life. These changes cannot be imagined, let alone cataloged, and the algorithms of change in each area are out of sync with others. Massive changes in world population, immigration, technology, the bases of economies, work patterns, roles of women and men, environment, methods of war, definitions of literacy, use of time, and other changes are profound and continuing.

In a society as complex as ours, the forces that will have an effect on leisure, tourism, and sport are too numerous to identify and are changing at a rate that is unprecedented in human history. Our notion of “progress” is in a state of evolution. Progress has historically often meant increased material well-being, but the era of rapid increases in material well-being may be over. Progress will increasingly have to do with increasing the meaning in and quality of our lives. We need to change in ways that make it more likely that we will survive and lead healthy lives. We have devoted centuries to changing the world, but the next century will be devoted more to changing ourselves. Only by changing ourselves, for example, can we confront human-produced climate change. This was recognized more than 2 decades ago:

People are becoming the subjects rather than the instruments of change. The coming round of progress will alter what people are rather than just what they do or how they live. This raises issues of an altogether different order, and efforts to force them into the old mold offer only confusion. (Paepke, 1993, p. 7)

We now have the capacity to reshape ourselves in several fundamental ways. Among the most important are genetic selection, mental enhancement, and the potential for longer life. There are a number of explanations of why we age, and there are several methods of increasing our life span that show promise. One of these is undernutrition. Widespread experimentation with humans remains to be done, but in laboratory experiments, animals fed less than other animals showed fewer signs of aging and lived longer. This is not malnutrition, which shortens life, but merely smaller portions of food. Another promising avenue of inquiry is genetic selection, in which scientists may use their findings about the genetic makeup of strains of animals that live longer as a way of in-

tervening with humans through drug therapies or gene implantation to extend life. Other genetic approaches, based upon our increased understanding of genetic makeup, also show great progress in lengthening life. Extending life may intensify certain problems caused by overcrowding and population growth.

The world is going to be transformed in amazing ways—in a short time. Houses are already being built with 3-D printers, some for a price of only \$5,000! Solar energy is surging. Substantially more women than men participate in higher education in many countries. The potential to “recycle” every material product is close. Humans are beginning to be monitored and reconfigured before they are born. Robots do most of the heavy lifting in manufacturing and in many service and education occupations. They are doing a lot of the surgery and may soon do most of it. Endless energy is right around the corner. The ability to grow real food indoors and outdoors at the local level is increasing. Fake processed food is primarily a political problem that can be solved. We have the potential to live in dwellings that produce more energy than they consume and drive vehicles that produce their own energy and do not pollute, and we can be involved in government and the companies in which we invest from our own homes.

These changes mean that the potential exists for us to live lives primarily devoted to leisure. Such a claim has been made many times, but, this time, it looks as if it could happen. Work is likely to be a moving target that requires a smaller portion of each of our lives and changes on a regular basis. This implies that we must provide for the well-being of others through government and both nonprofit and for-profit organizations. We must intelligently manage each of these organizational forms for the good of future generations.

Reality has become a moving target. Leisure and its use, which historically has been defined and redefined through technological innovation and changes in the economy and in the processes of work, are undergoing a series of continuing rapid transformations. Leisure is increasingly driven by the urge to deny the reality and acceleration of change, or to limit the effects of change, or to exploit the opportunities of change. Our attitudes about change and the future we imagine that it will bring can have a huge effect on our leisure choices—feedback from the future.

In such a world, leisure, tourism, and sport will undergo massive changes, becoming

- more customized,
- more globalized,
- more contingent (conditional), and
- more central.

This book is focused on the period 2015–2035, with occasional glimpses of changes in the more distant future. Perhaps the most important transformation is that the customization of leisure experience will mirror the custom-

ization and diversification of work and daily life. For many, the seamless web of postmodern life will render distinctions between work and leisure almost meaningless. For others—often living in close proximity—culture, religion, and ethnicity will continue to define leisure and its appropriate use. All, however, will shape all. The customization of leisure will mirror the customization of reality. Nothing will be understood except in global terms; we will master systems thinking as a species, or we may perish from the earth. Nothing can be taken for granted except change.

In the 21st century, technological change is increasingly being organized around biological models, and biology operates on the principle that difference is better (K. Kelly, 1994). The revolution in how work is done is producing a revolution in what work provides: mass-customized services based on greatly expanded information about the client or customer. Mass leisure has been a by-product of mass production of goods and services. That era is going. The customization of leisure, tourism, and sport will mirror the customization of every other aspect of life. Such customization does not imply that products and services are designed at an individual level, only that choice can take place for increasingly smaller aggregates of people.

A combination of exponentially rising consumption and increasing population means that earth may lose its ability to regenerate unless global consumption is reduced or global production is increased or both. Any birth rate above about 2.1 means that, eventually, the weight of humans will be more than the weight of the planet. It is therefore the developing nations that will, in many senses, control the world's future. Because poverty and the second class status of women are largely responsible for the plague of human population growth, the chances for our well-being, even in the short run, are linked to the elimination of poverty and changes in the rights, education, and life chances of women in most nations. In a world threatened by human-made climate change, "terrorism," and instant communication, leisure and its use will become more contingent, conditional, a part of life dependent on other parts to an even greater degree. We will go skiing if there is snow, vacation in Mexico if there is not a drug war going on, drive to Disney World if the traffic is not in gridlock, play baseball if the temperature is not 110 degrees, and seek tickets for the Superbowl if we think the air defenses against weaponized drones are adequate.

Some organizations that provide leisure, tourism, and sport services are beginning to prepare for this mass customization. This means becoming more agile, the ability to develop a number of responses to a given change in the environment or society. Although every living thing has its own unique genetic endowment, sense of time, set of capabilities, and personality, the ideal of the industrial society has been to treat people *uniformly* and regiment them to common time patterns and ways of life. The ideal has now become to treat people *appropriately*—and that means having sufficient information about them to recognize their unique needs. Treating people uniformly makes no sense in a

decentralized society, because they are not interchangeable parts. (Geoffrey: I have been a vegetarian for 30 years, so do not give me chicken at a convention dinner.) Treating people appropriately makes more sense as they become even more diverse. The provision of leisure, tourism, and sport will be reshaped by this fundamental shift in human relations.

The ants have run from their stomped hill—running in different directions at different speeds. Where they are going is not clear.

Will Leisure, Tourism, and Sport “Westernize”?

To a remarkable extent, uses of leisure, tourism, and sport have not been thought about too much by futurists. Sometimes there are predictions of lives that are no longer centered around work, but the rest of the equation is usually left blank. What will we do away from work and other obligations? Leisure and its use are likely to become more diverse as cultures collide and absorb elements of each other’s ways of life, but there is considerable belief that leisure and its use will become Americanized. According to the editor of *Newsweek International* and television commentator Fareed Zakaria (2008): “Today’s forms of . . . leisure, sports, vacations, and holidays all have their origins in European customs and practices” (p. 75). Indeed, there is lots of evidence that North American and European forms of leisure are quickly being transferred to the rest of the world. Halloween is beginning to be celebrated in countries that previously did not. At restaurants in many Chinese cities, servers dress in costumes for Halloween. Valentine’s Day, Christmas, and other holidays are transformed by countries that adopt them to their own culture. Sports such as basketball and volleyball are now played in most of the world. Hanging out at Starbucks is popular in many developing nations, even though a cup of coffee may cost the equivalent of \$30. Fast food, blue jeans, rock music, American movies and TV, and other leisure-related customs are spreading throughout the world. One fourth of the world’s population speaks some English, furthering this situation.

Just as English is changed by those who speak it, so too are Western forms of leisure, tourism, and sport when they are adopted and modified by developing nations. Thus, sports fans in some Latin American countries often play hand drums during most of a soccer match, and in the United Kingdom they sing traditional songs and chants. Fancy tea is important in Chinese Starbucks. More separation of males and females in many leisure activities will still occur in Arabic and other nations. Time is on the side of Western leisure, however, and everything from professional sports to national parks is beginning to be modeled after these ways of using free time.

Consider how this has changed the leisure patterns of immigrants in, for example, East London:

Today, Bethnal Green represents the heart of the Bangladeshi community in East London. Many white Britons see its inhabitants as the new Bethnal Green poor, culturally and racially distinct from themselves . . . However much they may view each other as different, a 16-year-old of Bangladeshi origin and a white 16-year-old probably wear the same clothes, listen to the same music, and follow the same soccer club. The shopping mall, the sports field, and the Internet bind them together, creating a set of experiences and cultural practices more common than any others in the past. (Malik, 2015, p. 23)

Thus, leisure becomes an important factor in assimilating immigrants.

More Globalized, Customized, Contingent, and Central

Leisure, tourism, and sport are becoming more customized, globalized, contingent, and central in our lives because of many factors. There are too many factors shaping these changes to mention, but some of them are listed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1

Factors Shaping Leisure, Tourism, and Sport

Factors Creating Customization

- Changing nature of work
 - Working patterns (part time, flextime, job sharing, work at home)
 - Increased urbanization and population density
 - Technology that processes vastly more information about people
 - Technology that operates in real time
 - Massive increases in immigration
 - Concentration of immigrants within small regions of a country
 - Global hyper-competition's demand for differentiation of products and services
 - Decline of standardized life stages
 - Transfer of demand for customized products to demand for customized time schedules
 - Differences in perceived time scarcity
-

Table 1.1 (cont.)

Factors Creating More Contingency

- Health problems of older population
 - Increased care giving
 - Increasing global warming and extreme weather
 - Terrorism and responses
 - Transportation gridlock
 - Tourist sites reach capacity
 - Massive government debt, restructuring of retirement, health benefits
 - Huge population increases and population densities
 - Infrastructure decline in some countries
 - Increasing income inequality across the globe
 - Varying abilities of governments to adapt to change and provide support for victims of change
-

Factors Creating Globalization

- The Internet
 - More interdependence
 - Huge increases in social media connectedness across borders
 - Increasingly interdependent economies and multinational corporations
 - Rapidly increasing migration within and among countries
 - Improved shipping containers and coordination of air, ship, rail, and truck delivery systems
 - Internationalization of education
 - Increasing travel and accessibility across borders
 - Internationalization of popular culture (including sport)
 - Hiring criteria for corporate CEOs
-

Factors Creating More Central Role

- Humans' role in manufacturing and agricultural work replaced by robots and other self-regulating machines
- Higher levels of income and education produce more interest in leisure
- An urbanizing world and "leisure cities"

Table 1.1 (cont.)

-
- Women's improving status increases demand for leisure opportunities
 - Global aging means more critical role for leisure
 - Global urbanization means leisure becomes more available
 - Government interest in healthy forms of leisure to reduce health costs
 - Likelihood of 4-day workweek or other strategies to spread remaining work throughout the population
 - Endless renewable energy available to large segments of the population
-

More Globalization

Globalization is the process of international integration arising from the interchange of worldviews, products, ideas, and other aspects of culture (Albrow & King, 1990; Al-Rodhan & Stoudmann, 2006). Advances in transportation and telecommunications infrastructure and the Internet are major factors in globalization, generating further interdependence of economic and cultural activities. Globalization is a strategy. It is the deliberate development of collaborative relationships across countries and cultures to create benefits for the people in those relationships and, perhaps, for others.

The term *globalization* has been increasingly used since the mid-1980s and especially since the mid-1990s. In 2000, the International Monetary Fund identified four basic aspects of globalization: trade and transactions, capital and investment movements, migration and movement of people, and the dissemination of knowledge. Further, environmental challenges such as climate change, cross-boundary water and air pollution, and overfishing of the ocean are linked with globalization. Globalizing processes affect and are affected by business and work organizations, economics, sociocultural resources, and the natural environment. Globalization has many components, some of which have advanced faster than others.

Economic globalization is the increasing economic integration and interdependence of national, regional, and local economies across the world through an intensification of cross-border movement of goods, services, technologies, and capital (Joshi, 2009). Thus, professional sport seeks profit by expanding operations to other countries (e.g., the NFL to London, Toronto, and Mexico City). The NBA seeks new international markets, including China. Professional tennis now has important tournaments in Japan, Dubai, China, Malaysia, Spain, Ecuador, and elsewhere. Economic globalization means that all companies that represent parts of tourism (transportation, lodging, dining attractions, pro-

motion) are internationalized already or dependent on those who are. Thus, Chinese-based travel agencies play a big role in determining the fate of tourism in Las Vegas. Scotland and other tourism-dependent countries are dependent on Expedia (2014), a \$40 billion conglomerate that includes Expedia, Hotwire, Hotels.com, Travago, Venere, Egencia, and other companies. These companies are involved with 260,000 hotels and other bookable properties, more than 400 airlines, 7,000 on-site tourism activity providers, and dozens of cruise lines and car rental companies (Expedia, 2014). Thus, the hotel a tourist from Brazil going to Scotland chooses is likely to be directly shaped by Expedia or another global online hotel booking corporation.

Cultural globalization refers to the transmission of ideas, meanings, and values around the world to extend and intensify social relations (James, 2006). Social media play a big role here. Cell phones, laptops, and other devices allow people from different countries and cultures to understand each other better. Although many countries such as China still seek to control what can be communicated, such control is likely to lessen. For leisure, cultural globalization means that there is greater diversity in what people freely choose to do within a given area. It also means lots of disagreement about what is appropriate leisure behavior. In terms of sport, for instance, a women's rugby team may be highly accepted and relevant in one place, but prohibited on pain of imprisonment or torture in another. Women traveling alone for tourism purposes is applauded by some cultures, but not allowed by others. Gay bars are accepted readily by one group, but still suspect in another.

There is evidence that a person's "culture" influences his or her genes. Some researchers have found evidence that the culture in which a person lives gets "embrained," becoming part of that individual's genetic endowment (Kitayama & Uskul, 2011). Therefore, people in different cultures see and think differently—not a little differently, but fundamentally. In one study, for example, Chinese and American people were shown photographs and asked what they saw. The Chinese people saw a picture of an ocean environment. The Americans saw a picture of a fish. Americans categorize quickly, whereas the Chinese can see dialectically (Nisbett, 2003). The Chinese see relationships. Americans see objects. Americans see the "subject" of a painting, whereas the Chinese see the environment. Each culture, in short, produces a different set of values and beliefs. Cultural globalization brings these differences into close proximity, which sometimes fosters brilliant cultural syntheses and integration and sometimes ignites violence.

Tourism, of course, has been a key factor in cultural globalization. Tourists see what people in France or Egypt have for dinner; how Greeks dance or make wine; what music is popular in Capetown; and the variety of language, popular culture, and interpretations of historical sites that mark so many places. The ways in which tourism sites are presented will likely change with the changing

cultures of tourists. What Germans want to see and how it is interpreted may become less important than what Chinese, Indians, or Brazilians prefer.

Demographic globalization is the international labor pool of workers including those employed by multinational companies and connected through a global system of networking and production; immigrant workers; transient migrant workers; telecommuting workers; and those in export-oriented employment, contingent work, or other precarious employment (James, 2006). Thus, even the tiny, crowded island of Taiwan has immigration of workers from other Asian countries who can earn more money in Taiwan than in their own country. India has a nonprofit organization that maintains ties with the 30 million Indians who work in East Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere. People increasingly come in contact with those from other countries and cultures. Perhaps a personal example illustrates this:

Today I watched two women learning Tai Chi at a fitness center, bought a watering can that was made in China for the garden, ate at a Thai restaurant, and e-mailed with a graduate student from Nigeria about leisure constraints. Barbara, my partner, was born in England. Her father was a first generation American of Romanian descent. My youngest daughter lives in Canada. The only other language I can speak (a little) is Spanish. Our friends Chris and Suzanne are coming to visit from Australia, then Jing and Kiayan from China, and then Fei who is Chinese but lives in Edmonton, Alberta. My sister is godmother to a French child; my partner at Venture Publishing for 32 years is of Italian and Basque origin. My brother Galen has been to England 18 times, Romania five times, Peru six times, and India four times and appreciates the diverse cultures there. The biggest ethnic minority near where I live is Amish, a German-origin culture that refuses to use many modern technologies. I love tennis and watch it on TV; the best women players are now mostly Eastern European. The woman who helps keep the house beautiful is Ukrainian and speaks Russian and English. Our friend Mary is second generation Irish American and Roman Catholic. In my small town, a big student apartment complex was just completed, with almost all the work done by Mexican and other Central American workers. My partner, Barbara, and I went to Scotland for pleasure in May and then to Hangzhou and Shenzhen, China, in October, where I work for universities. As I am writing this, a telephone call I received was from a person in Bangalore, India, inquiring about a credit card. Online services such as Skype and FaceTime make "face-to-face" communication easier with people all over the world. The translation apps on smartphones make translation from one language to another much easier. Photographing and instantly translating text is becoming more common all the time.

(Geoffrey)

Democratic globalization is the concept of an institutional system of global democracy that would give world citizens a say in world organizations. This would, in the view of its proponents, bypass nation-states, corporate entities, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and so forth. For some, democratic mundialization is a variant of democratic globalization stressing the need for the direct election of world leaders and members of global institutions by citizens worldwide. For others, it is another name for democratic globalization (“No Logo,” n.d.).

Critics of the nascent democratic globalization base their criticisms on a number of related ideas. A shared criticism is what they see as large multinational corporations having unregulated political power, exercised through trade agreements and deregulated financial markets. Specifically, corporations are accused of seeking to maximize profit at the expense of work safety conditions and standards; labor hiring and compensation standards; environmental conservation principles; and the integrity of national legislative authority, independence, and sovereignty. As of January 2012, some commentators have characterized the unprecedented changes in the global economy as “turbo-capitalism,” the acceleration of capitalism without the necessary constraints of social and environmental needs. It remains to be seen whether the policies and tentative commitments made at the December 2015 international conference on climate change will mitigate the excesses of global capitalism.

It may be argued that economic globalization has led to the other aspects of globalization. Therefore, some critics think globalization is a phase of development that may decline if trade barriers prevent a high level of international trade. So many factors seem to favor globalization, however, that it is likely here to stay. Not only do people from different nations depend on each other, but also multiple problems in the world, such as climate change, cannot be solved at a national level. Also, the issue of migration is likely to intensify as some nations grow old quickly and others produce more young people. Migration may explode in some areas because of climate change and the conflicts it engenders.

Geography almost demands globalization today. Four fifths of the world's surface area is ocean, and outside of a few miles from shore, no nation owns the oceans. No nation owns outer space. No nation owns the arctic or Antarctic, although several have made claims. No individual nation has a cure for poverty, although the Scandinavian countries have drastically reduced its frequency through their distinctive blend of socialism and capitalism. No nation can be trusted to govern all the others.

Environmental globalization. To the other forms of globalization, environmental globalization must now be added. That is, the conditions of the environment in one country are now more likely to affect other countries. Climate change, of course, is a global issue. The ozone layer was changed primarily by North American consumption and pollution. Today, one quarter of the particles of soot in the air of Los Angeles come from China. The emission

of carbon dioxide, however, is a global problem, not a national one. The ozone layer is above all of us! Also, lack of water in one country produces changes that affect the water supply in nearby countries: If India and China ever go to war, it may be over water issues, and there will be no peace between Israel and Palestine if an agreement on water rights cannot be framed. “Invasive” species change plant and animal life. In Brazil, for example, the most threatening species is the wild boar, which destroys crops and natural flora and can transmit diseases to indigenous animals. African grasses and snails also damage the natural habitat. More frequent movement of people and material goods around the world means that new diseases, species, and environmental problems are transported from country to country. It also means that solutions to environmental problems are almost inherently international. No one country can solve the problem for itself without cooperation from many other countries. Any meaningful movements away from burning coal, increasing access to water, or beginning to clean the polluted and acidified oceans must be global rather than national efforts. (As this is being written, Norway has banned investment in coal or tar sands by government—even as China is burning almost as much soft coal as the rest of the world combined, 3.8 billion tons annually [Walsh, 2013]). Additionally, Hawaii has committed itself to 100% renewable energy sources by 2045.

In spite of numerous encouraging examples, if nothing changes, it is possible that India will import as much coal as China by 2017. These problems, of course, have huge implications for national governments and the need for international governing bodies—a recent study (Schwartz, 2015) found that the average daily temperature in the Persian Gulf region in the year 2100 could be 170 °F if global warming is not contained and ultimately reversed. This, of course, would force the entire population of those nation-states to emigrate—or die, if no nation will absorb them. Of all the forms of globalization occurring, the globalization of environmental problems is the most important. The fate of humans may be determined by the ability to find global solutions to local and national environmental issues.

In terms of leisure, tourism, and sport, democratic globalization could have mixed effects. On the one hand, more and more leisure service providers are guided by the wishes of their customers and routinely obtain feedback from them. In effect, people “vote” with their behavior. On the other hand, leisure providers use “viral marketing” to sell their products and services in ways that capture the customer. Viral marketing refers to marketing techniques that use social networking services and other technologies to try to produce increases in brand awareness or to achieve other marketing objectives (e.g., product sales) through self-replicating viral processes, analogous to the spread of viruses or computer viruses. It can be delivered by word of mouth or enhanced by the network effects of the Internet and mobile networks. Viral advertising is personal and, while coming from an identified sponsor, it does not mean busi-

nesses pay for its distribution. Most of the well-known viral ads circulating online are ads paid by a sponsor company, launched either on their own platform (company webpage or social media profile) or on social media websites such as YouTube. Consumers receive the page link from a social media network or copy the entire ad from a website and pass it along through e-mail or by posting it on a blog, webpage, or social media profile. Viral marketing may take the form of video clips, interactive Flash games, advergames, e-books, brandable software, images, text messages, e-mail messages, or webpages. The most commonly used transmission vehicles for viral messages include pass-along based, incentive based, trendy based, and undercover based. However, the creative nature of viral marketing enables an “endless amount of potential forms and vehicles the messages can utilize for transmission,” including mobile devices” (“Viral marketing,” n.d., para. 1).

Possible implications on leisure, tourism, and sport. Globalization in all its forms is having huge effects on leisure, tourism, and sport. The “national” character of many leisure activities will lessen. Issues of “authentic” leisure activity will become more complex. The spread of yoga is an example. Sports made popular in one country may spread to many others, from baseball to tae kwon do. The globalization of the media continually contributes to this. People in India see rugby being played. People in Panama hear music written in Norway. Nigerian drummers influence percussionists in Toronto.

Many sports are becoming “globalized.” Soccer, in fact, has been used as an example of a sport that has contributed to globalization while itself being globalized:

It wasn't just the ways in which the Internet and satellites had made the role of soccer so much larger and more accessible. You could see globalization on the pitch: During the nineties, Basque teams, under the stewardship of Welsh coaches, stocked up on Dutch and Turkish players; Moldavian squads imported Nigerians. Everywhere you looked, it suddenly seemed national borders and national identities had been swept into the dustbin of soccer history. (Foer, 2004, p. 3)

Other sports have also been internationalized, from tennis to basketball. The National Basketball Association (NBA) sees a bright future in China, where 300 million people play basketball and where the desire to view NBA games is at an all-time high.

The NBA's second Chinese New Year Celebration, which featured 23 live games televised and streamed to Chinese audiences over 8 days, reached 107 million fans on television and digital media last month, an increase of more than 11% compared to last year's first-ever celebration. (Coonan, 2013, para. 6)

The Chinese basketball association, whose players get better each year, may ultimately give the NBA competition, just as American Little League no longer dominate what has truly become its World Series tournament.

Sport has always mirrored the ways in which people work. When the factory system came into being, sport changed from low organized play to activity that used the ideals of manufacturing and scientific management. Players became specialized—becoming a left fielder instead of someone standing somewhere in a field waiting for the batter to do something. Rules became more prescribed and complicated. Efficiency became the overarching value in most high-level sport. The same rules that governed the factory floor governed sport. The idea of team was adopted in factory work and in baseball, basketball, and football, although always accompanied by authoritarian management. Many sports that had been self-governed now found a need for referees, umpires, and judges. Sport became more organized, more rational, and more scientific. In an era of globalization, sport will be changed again, reflecting ways of playing that have international appeal and value. This may mean combining the value of efficiency with display. The dunk shot in basketball, for example, is worth only 2 points, the same number of points as laying the ball over the rim. The global meaning of the dunk, however, makes the shot important.

Another consequence of globalization has been not only the diffusion of sport but also the creation of sports fans to sports that were previously unknown. Table 1.2 shows the most popular sports in the world in terms of sports fans. Notice how many sports in the top 10 are relatively minor sports in the US, including cricket, field hockey, and table tennis. On the other hand, American sports have diffused throughout the world. Volleyball and basketball were invented in North America, and American football and baseball were versions of existing European sports that became unique.

As the world globalizes, not only do countries absorb individual sports from other countries but also sports fans absorb and reshape the traditions that go with the sport, from cheerleaders to soccer hooliganism. In every country, there is silence during the playing of the point in major tennis events. Golf is also played in silence during the striking of the ball, but soccer matches are characterized by chants and the singing of songs that are unique to the team for which the fan cheers. Tailgating is beginning to accompany American football in many of the countries where it is now played.

Table 1.2*Top 10 Sports in the World by Viewers*

Rank	Sport	Estimated fans	Regional popularity
1.	Soccer/Association Football	3.5 Billion	Europe, Africa, Asia, America
2.	Cricket	2.5 Billion	Asia, Australia, UK
3.	Field Hockey	2 Billion	Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia
4.	Tennis	1 Billion	Europe, Asia, America
5.	Volleyball	900 Million	Europe, Australia, Asia, America
6.	Table Tennis	850 Million	Europe, Africa, Asia, America
7.	Baseball	500 Million	America, Japan
8.	Golf	450 Million	Europe, Asia, America, Canada
=9	Basketball	400 Million	America
=9	American Football	400 Million	Europe, Africa, Asia, America, Australia

Note. Data from <http://www.mostpopularsports.net/>

The huge effects of globalization on tourism can only be guessed. The tourism industry may try to keep up the fiction of London as an “English” city, for example, but London has become one more internationalized city with Thai restaurants, residents of African descent practicing Catholicism, American beer, and Italian pizza. Several hundred thousand French citizens work in London, and the candidates for Prime Minister of France now come to London to campaign at rallies. Globalism may lessen the sense of place of many tourist attractions, making them more like the place from which the visitor came. There is less emphasis on tradition in most of the world, even though there is a small countermovement to save it.

Attachment to and sense of place have become big issues in tourism research, precisely because globalization produces more likeness, more mobility, less rootedness, and cultures containing elements from many other cultures.

More Customization

At its simplest level, customization simply means “to modify or build according to individual or personal specifications or preference” (“Customize,” n.d.). The ability to customize every aspect of life is expanding as knowledge

about individuals is increasing, as highly educated people become more different from each other, and as technology is developed to respond to the needs of a single unit rather than a “market segment” or “class.” The increasing desire for customized products and services is partly the result of a more highly educated population. People with higher levels of education become more distinct, complex, and different from each other in their tastes and interests: Style, design, and personal identity have become more tightly linked. They are often more specific in their preferences. The term *mass* has therefore begun to disappear (e.g., mass culture, mass production, mass leisure). It is difficult to find an electronic product today without “programmable” features.

With regard to customization, the ability to make leisure experiences, products, and services different at an individual level increases every day. More and more is known about individual customers, participants, travelers, athletes, spectators, and all individuals. Part of the reason for more customization is that it is possible and profitable. Amazon can “see” what we buy online and prepare ads individually for us. Kayak knows which flights and hotels we search for. Fitness centers know when we show up, how long we work out, and how much money we spend. The “mass” entertainment of the 1950s, when more than half the nation watched *The Milton Berle Show* on Tuesday nights and the World Series was broadcast in public schools, is gone. Hundreds of TV channels, millions of music opportunities, and online sources of all kinds brought much mass entertainment to an end.

The customization of products. Customization has reached new levels because of the computer-assisted ability to customize products and the increased desire for customized products.

In marketing, manufacturing, call centers, and management, customization means the use of flexible computer-aided manufacturing systems to produce custom output. Those systems combine the low unit costs of mass production processes with the flexibility of individual customization. Mass customization is the method of “effectively postponing the task of differentiating a product for a specific customer until the latest possible point in the supply network” (Chase, Jacobs, & Aquilano, 2006, p. 419).

During the industrial period in the US and other nations, the production of things followed standard procedures. “Scientific management,” through which manufacturing was reorganized, assumed there was “one best way” to do things (Kanigel, 1997). Time and motions studies led to workers having each movement on the assembly line defined and measured. Although scientific management revolutionized the operation of steel mills and other manufacturing, in reality there was never any one best way to produce things. Standardized ways of manufacturing simply reflected lack of knowledge about the employees involved or demonstrated a willingness to treat workers like slaves. As computers and advances in psychology allow us to understand more about each person, it is clear that some people work best when they get short breaks and others

work best in longer spurts. Some people work best in the early morning and others do not. A few respond to harsh criticism, and others are hurt by it. Some work from home effectively, and others get caught up in home life. For some workers, making \$3/hour is a negative; for others, it is the most money they have ever made. The customization of products, then, is about customizing how things are made as well as what is made.

Many computer-assisted technologies allow for almost infinite choice in producing products. Clothing companies such as Land's End offer tens of thousands of variations in what clothing can be purchased in terms of size, style, materials, color, and methods of payment. The limits of the customization of products are nowhere in sight.

The customization of health. For a long time, people thought that certain behaviors, foods, medicines, or treatments were “good for you” or “bad for you.” Since that time, however, health care has been customized in a way that will revolutionize how people are treated in regard to health. *Epigenetics*, in its infancy as a science, already informs us that our vast genetic endowment is characterized, in effect, by the “shutting and opening” of genes on a daily basis. A fetus whose mother eats a junk food diet, for example, may have a genetic reaction in which it is programmed to enter what it assumes is a nutrition-scarce world, because the junk food eaten by the mother is so low in nutrition. Thus, the fetus is programmed to eat a lot, and the resulting child may be predisposed to obesity. To some extent, then, good health must ideally be understood in terms of the individual's genetic predispositions. Some people need to drink more water than others. Some people need more or less sleep than others. What makes one person happy may not make another happy, such as high stress levels or strenuous exercise. Optimal arousal is much higher for one child than another (which is why playground equipment needs to provide different levels of arousal). Thus, what constitutes good health is more complex than might be assumed—and identifying “healthy” leisure is even more complex. Although our own personal habits play an important role in determining how long we live, our unique genetic endowment is critical. Perhaps that is one reason employers are beginning to screen employees and applicants in terms of their genetic endowment (Godbey, 2010).

Genetic monitoring, although controversial, is occurring more and more in the workplace:

These tests can detect the presence of genetic abnormalities in healthy individuals that may place those individuals at increased risk for developing certain diseases. In the workplace, such tests can be used to screen job applicants and employees who, because of their genetic makeup, may be more likely to develop diseases if exposed to certain worksite substances, such as chemicals or radiation.

Research to date has identified about fifty genetic disorders thought to increase a person's susceptibility to the toxic or carcinogenic effects of environmental agents. Individuals with the sickle cell trait, for example, may be at increased risk for sickle cell anemia if exposed to carbon monoxide or cyanide. Exposure to lead or benzene can be especially hazardous to the health of people with the thalassemia gene. (Andre & Velasquez, 2015, para. 1–2)

Customization of humans. Most important, there is the customization of humans. Post-modernity is reshaping the life course and family structure. Many developmental psychologists no longer speak of “life stage” because the comparatively common stages of life that individuals went through in an industrial economy no longer occur or do not occur at common ages. Modern nations are also “de-familied,” with more than one fifth of households having only one person in them and the average household having less than three occupants. In the US, half of the adult population is not married. When there is a family, it is likely to be more diverse in form, often the result of divorce and remarriage, or it may be a gay or lesbian family, a multiethnic or multiracial family, or a family of unrelated individuals. These trends encourage more customization of leisure behavior.

Elsewhere, Han Chinese are beginning to marry Africans. Asian Indians move to Vancouver and live in neighborhoods that consist largely of wealthy Hong Kong immigrants. Definitions of race begin to disappear from the US Census as people who are the products of intermarriage define who they are in unique ways. “Handicapped” is harder to define. The “pure” races of people (e.g., the Japanese) are now so old that they must import workers, and that will eventually mean intermarriage with Koreans and others. Miss Japan in 2015 is African Japanese—unprecedented. Women may be possessions forced to wear clothing that hides their bodies or may become the Prime Minister of Germany. Women get more formal education than do men in several countries of the world and generally have higher emotional intelligence, making their future roles full of promise and diverse. People who are gay marry and take group tours designed for people who are gay.

The customization of humans starts with fetal monitoring and continues through death, when 1 out of 2 Americans will likely choose cremation by 2017 (Lovejoy, 2013). Designer babies—genetically modified for beauty, intelligence, or to be free of disease—have long been a topic of science fiction, but not any longer (Gallagher, 2015).

Possible implications for leisure, tourism, and sport. Many forms of leisure are becoming more customized, and this trend will likely intensify. In regard to tourism, for example, the hotel of the future may be endlessly customizable, from the digital art on the walls right down to the furniture, which will change shape and texture. This leading-edge technology is called “claytron-

ics.” Made of programmable, microscopic robots, a claytronic bed could morph into a couch during daylight hours, conserving space and ushering in a new breed of capsule hotels. Regardless of technique, hotels, guest rooms in particular, will likely be customized to suit the occupant, about whom more and more will be known in advance. Luxury hotels have always been able to customize the experience for their guests. What are your preferences for food, beverage, wake-up calls, or use of facilities?

Customization leads to and is a kind of specialization. Higher levels of education, particularly for women, are occurring in many regions of the world. People with higher levels of education are more likely to become specialized in a given form of leisure behavior, moving from the general to the specific within the activity form and, often, from catharsis to pleasure to meaning in terms of benefits sought. Those with higher education are more likely to participate in most forms of outdoor recreation, sports, high culture, continuing education, reading, tourism, and volunteer activities.

More highly educated people will become more individually distinct in their participation in leisure activity, seeking more information and complexity in the experience. The increasingly diverse mix of education levels of people residing in close proximity will mean that providing mass leisure activities, such as local festivals, will need to be undertaken with multiple strategies.

Mass customization in tourism: What it is and what it is not. When the phrase *mass customization* began to be used in the mid-1990s, it seemed to be a contradiction in terms to many people. For the authors of this text, who grew up in a world dominated by the mass production model in manufacturing, and highly regimented thinking and practices in the business world in general, the idea of catering to individual needs and wishes seemed like a policy confined to the upper financial echelons of society—the people who could afford tailored suits and designer dresses. The idea that organizations could thrive by addressing the specific characteristics of all of their customers or clients through analysis and planning was radical to say the least. But the idea has taken hold and is behind the incessant quest of merchants and service providers to collect information about what their customers experience every day. This information is the fuel that drives increasingly sophisticated (intrusive? manipulative?) strategies to improve the customer experience and encourage spending, whether in a store or online.

A key argument of this text is that leisure services are ripe for the application of mass customization strategies, regardless of whether a leisure organization is nonprofit or for-profit. It is important that leisure professionals master this concept and think about how they could apply it in their work.

First, let’s say what this concept does not mean: Mass customization does not mean that we customize in every situation to a lot size of one, that is, to one specific individual. Mass customization strategies can be applied to individuals in groups as well as to individuals by themselves. Accommodating the tour-

ism interests and goals of one person or even one couple can be easily done, of course, but such guided “bespoke” travel may be expensive. Still, for small- to medium-sized groups, mass customization is relevant: Studying the needs, wishes, and characteristics of a group and building participant feedback into adaptation of the itinerary on the fly will usually lead to a better experience than making everyone conform to a strict schedule and having them always following the guide with the big umbrella.

Also, some people think that mass customization means simply giving customers what they want—ask them what they want to do or see, and give it to them. Although this is an appealingly simple approach to preparing itineraries, it is frequently not the best. First, if the people in the group have not been to a certain region or country before, or if they have not done much reading about the history, culture, art, and landscape of the place, they may not know what is worth seeing. They literally will not be able to tell the tour guide what they want to do and see because they do not know. Further, someone may be simply obsessed with painting or World War II connections and think that is all they want to do for 2 weeks, and although, no doubt, a few would thrive on a steady diet of one subject, most people need a little variety. In this last case, a good trip organizer would provide the balanced itinerary that provides stimulation and exposure from a variety of sources and that prevents the boredom that a single theme often produces.

So customization is not a strategy designed only for one individual or couple—it can be applied to groups, and effective customization often requires that the provider consider the customers’ needs as well as wants. Sophisticated customization for travel groups includes the agility necessary to read the group’s responses and provide new or additional opportunities on the fly (i.e., during the tour).

At first, when leading touring groups in England, I made predictable mistakes. I was so concerned that people feel that the trip was worth their time and expense that I crammed in way too many sites, which, of course, put us on a tight time schedule and meant that we could not linger in spots that charmed the group. With each succeeding trip, I pared back the formal itinerary. By the fourth or fifth trip, I had it figured out, and without yet having the term, was operating on a mass customization basis with in-journey adaptations based on the group’s emerging preferences. When people signed on for the trip, I asked them if there were any places that they simply had to go to. Some offered ideas, and others just said, “We’re in your hands!” The final itinerary promised one well-known, wonderful place each day (e.g., Canterbury Cathedral or the gardens at Great Dixter), including places cited by participants. This gave people plenty of time to appreciate what they were seeing and to wander about the adjoining village or town. Then I would take them

to a castle or a ruined abbey or a famous pub or a good viewpoint on the English Channel, or maybe even two such places, depending on how much time the group wanted to spend at each. At dinner, with our steak and kidney pudding and ale, I would ask them about the places we had visited and which ones they liked in particular. By the mid-point of our trip, patterns of preference would show up, which helped me identify options to present to the group—should we go to a moated manor house or market town with good shops after the posted attraction of the day? So I was getting ideas from the group about things that were important to them; listening for patterns of preference within the group; using my expertise about England's treasures to identify places they had never heard of, but which they will never forget, to supplement the formal itinerary; and giving them choices among these alternatives. (Galen)

The point not to be missed about mass customization is that it requires knowledge about and conversation and engagement with the customer. Though this process takes time, it builds enduring relationships and trust, which are powerful emotionally, financially, and in every other way.

Increasing customization will lead increasingly to the understanding that what constitutes healthy leisure for one person may constitute unhealthy leisure for another. A few glasses of red wine while watching the sunset may be wonderfully healthy for one person, but for a person with a drinking problem, it is an invitation to trouble. Resting in front of a TV after work may serve as necessary recovery for a coal miner, but not for a teenager who does so all day. Tennis may produce physical fitness for one person and skin cancer for another. What interests, stimulates, fascinates, and satisfies individuals varies, and in leisure, these differences mean healthy leisure differs for different people.

Forms of healthy leisure also differ by country and culture. In this respect, healthy leisure is not too different from healthy eating. As Michael Pollan (2008) observed, healthy eating must be understood within a cultural context, not as ingesting a given nutrient in isolation from shared meanings and pleasures of food, and so it is with leisure. It may be argued that as a person's life chances improve, motivation for leisure can move from the desire for rest and relaxation to the desire to find pleasure to the desire to find meaning. In some cultures, particularly those in which people do hard physical work, healthy leisure may center around resting, word games, chatting with friends, or traditional card or table games. Such activity provides a connectedness needed to maintain the culture and the individual's place in it. Pleasure seeking is done only in ways approved by the community. When societies are highly collective, participating in forms of leisure that are traditional provides meaning. In societies that are highly individualistic, such as North American society, the search for meaning in leisure is often done at an individual level. Healthy leisure differs dramatically by culture. This is one of the reasons that many Japanese and

other Asian immigrants suffer from depression at higher rates once in the US. The comfort of their former collective culture is largely missing. In its place there is only “free time,” an empty container that a person fills up as he or she chooses.

In spite of the customization of leisure, it seems evident that use of a person’s human capacities during leisure is healthy. That is, “use it or lose it.” A baby’s brain generates roughly double the number of nerve cells it needs to function, with those cells that receive chemical and electrical stimuli surviving and the remaining cells dying. It appears that if a cell is not appropriately stimulated by other cells, it self-destructs. It is not only the brain, however, that declines with lack of “use,” so too does forearm strength, imagination, ability to laugh, and ability to play the guitar accompaniment to “Dust in the Wind.” Thus, healthy leisure generally involves people using their human capacities, although this may be done in an endless variety of ways by different individuals, in different countries, and in different cultures.

More Contingent

Contingent merely means subject to chance or unseen effects or unpredictable. Life and leisure are becoming more contingent for a variety of reasons, including the huge rate of technological change. This might mean a drone delivers a pizza to a party or delivers a bomb. A deadly illness might be curable. A large coastal housing area disappears into the water after a climate-change-induced tsunami or tide surge. Contingency might be caused by an Islamic terrorist blowing up a market square or a massive traffic jam making it impossible to get to a destination. It could be the result of sudden restrictions on the use of water for golf courses or on automobiles in an area of a city.

Although tourists and sports fans avoid “war zones,” war is now more complex. Beginning in the 1990s, military experts were increasingly understanding that traditional ways of waging war were disappearing. “Terrorism” and low-intensity wars have become the ways of fighting for the “have nots” against the “haves.” The line between crime and war has largely disappeared, and as that has happened, low-intensity conflicts of attrition have largely replaced wars fought from traditional strategies. According to military expert Martin Van Creveld (1991),

The spread of sporadic small-scale war will cause regular armed forces themselves to change form, shrink in size, and wither away. As they do, much of the day-to-day burden of defending society against the threat of low-intensity conflict will be transferred to the booming security business . . . (p. 97)

Terrorism as a long-term condition of life will make leisure, especially tourism behavior, more deliberate and more subject to sudden change. It may also

mean that assurances of safety, predictability, and isolation from the increasing conflict between haves and have nots will be more important.

Changing demographic contingencies. Leisure, tourism, and sport activity will be made more contingent through several population trends. The massive increase in human beings will mean that the “supply” of many leisure resources, from national parks to baseball fields, will likely be lessened on a per person basis. It is doubtful that the supply of leisure “infrastructure” can keep up with a world population moving from 7 billion to as high as 12 billion. Some tourist sites simply cannot be duplicated. Making another Grand Canyon is not possible. Crowding at Grand Canyon, therefore, will continue to increase unless policy changes make access to it more limited.

The increasing concentration of humans in large cities makes some leisure, tourism, and sport activities more difficult, particularly those involving the natural environment. People are leaving the countryside for the city in countless nations on every continent. This means there is a huge need for park, recreation, and cultural resources to be increasingly available—supply must be raised to meet demand. This will likely involve new ways of providing for leisure, tourism, and sport rather than simply seeking to increase the existing leisure infrastructure.

Other demographic changes will also make leisure more contingent. Changes in the roles of females in many countries will mean competition between males and females for leisure resources that were formally for males only. The aging of the global population will mean more health issues, which may interfere with leisure participation in unpredictable ways. It will also affect those who care for aging parents and friends. Going on a day trip with friends may be contingent on whether a person’s father needs help getting to the physical therapist. In combination, changing demographic trends will make leisure participation less predictable.

Increasing infrastructure contingencies. The infrastructure necessary to access many leisure opportunities is becoming a bigger issue as highways, bridges, airports, and sewer systems grow older. Currently, the US and, to a lesser extent, other modern nations face an infrastructure crisis. How technological advances may affect this situation is unknown at this time. The American Society of Civil Engineers (ASCE) has documented this problem:

Using ratings by civil engineers in every state, the ASCE gave the national infrastructure an overall grade of D-plus, an average pulled down by some of the biggest problem areas — aviation, drinking-water supply, roads, transit, and sewage treatment.

Restoring it all to good working order will require an investment of \$3.6 trillion by 2020, the ASCE concluded, and if the current level of spending continues it will fall short of that figure by \$1.6 trillion. The call for vast new investment comes in an era of national auster-

ity, and with a major source of infrastructure funding on the brink of bankruptcy. (Halsey, 2013, para. 4–5)

Basically, the huge infrastructure that was built at the end of World War II has reached its life expectancy, and it has not been repaired or replaced even close to the extent needed to continue the way of life expected. The idiotic idea that government should do nothing about this makes the situation worse. Thus, closed bridges may make travel time to a soccer match unacceptably long.

Increasing environmental contingencies. Climate change will make many leisure activities less predictable. Is there enough water in the lake? Are the tides washing onto shore, flooding the resort hotel? Is an intense heat wave predicted, making a tennis match impossible outdoors. Will the trip to Miami or Shanghai be canceled because of flooding? Climate change will reshape every aspect of leisure, tourism, and sport, making such activity less certain or predictable. In sport, will the athletes compete in severe air pollution, water pollution, or scorching temperatures? Sporting events will become more contingent in a changing climate.

Possible implications for leisure, tourism, and sport. Because many leisure experiences will become more highly contingent, there will be increasing use of information surrounding the activity in real time up until the actual participation or travel to a leisure site. The spur-of-the-moment decision about a leisure activity may become more rare. Those who sponsor leisure, tourism, and sport activities will keep potential visitors aware of possible contingencies all the way up to their arrival. This, of course, has already happened with the major airlines, which provide online updates of flight situations.

For major sporting and tourist events, the threat of terrorist acts and other disruptions will make security an even more important issue in the staging of the World Cup, Wimbledon, or the Super Bowl. Buying insurance against the threat of cancellation will also become more common, or simply included in the price of a ticket.

Increased contingencies mean that the leisure behavior of individuals becomes more planned, more deliberate, more information rich, and less spontaneous. The nature of leisure itself will be changed.

More central role. The most important change in leisure is that it will become a more central part of life for most of the world's population. This means more time available for a person to pursue interests aside from work, more opportunities and infrastructure for leisure, and less belief that "work" in and of itself is worthwhile. A number of issues make this likely.

Historically, most "work" was of a physical nature—hunting animals for food and clothing; planting seeds and, later, plowing the ground; moving objects in a factory along a conveyor belt; using a pick to dig seams of coal off the side of an underground mine; pushing a lawn mower; or washing clothing by hand and hanging it on a line. Most of the need for such labor is gone. Robotic

machines in combination with “smart” appliances are rapidly replacing most manufacturing and agricultural jobs. Much housework is going through the same sequence, with self-monitoring systems that require little investment of time. As this happens, planning for the welfare of humans will need to change to protect the well-being of people regardless of their place in the labor force.

There is also the huge issue of increasing income and education in the world. A smaller portion of the world’s population is poor; access to education, whether by the Internet or “schools,” is increasing. People with higher levels of education and income tend to have more exposure to leisure activity, more desire to participate, and more opportunities to participate.

Also, the huge movement out of the countryside into cities is accelerating all over the world. Agriculture no longer needs many workers and the chances for higher incomes and opportunities exist in cities. Within cities, more opportunities for leisure exist, from museums to night clubs to sports facilities. It is within cities that modern leisure evolved and continues to evolve.

Because people become more recreationally dependent within cities, government and private nonprofit organizations play a bigger role in providing not only for leisure but also, more centrally, for health care. Two critical variables in health care, physical activity and stress levels, are directly affected by which leisure opportunities are provided. Many cities in South America, therefore, have begun to limit access to automobiles, have provided attractive places for people to walk and sit, and have brought leisure back to the city centers, which had become almost solely places of commerce dominated by automobiles. In China, the term *Leisure City* is widely used, and every city seeks to improve its ranking based on its natural and cultural resources for enjoyable leisure (Godbey & Song, 2014).

Accompanying urbanization is the ability to obtain more education—not only academic degrees but also worlds of information that can be accessed via online devices. In effect, people’s leisure interests are being expanded, including new forms of leisure, tourism, and sport not possible in the countryside.

The likelihood of endless, non-fossil energy sources, however, may make leisure more central. The ability to live “off the grid” makes for an independence not known in much of human history. No need to cut wood, shovel coal, pay for oil, or become dependent on a utility company. Solar, wind, hydrogen, and other forms of “endless” energy will bring leisure with them—an unintended consequence. As this happens, work will become less central to a person’s life. The 4-day workweek or the 30-hour workweek will be options.

Finally, the world’s population is becoming dramatically older. As this happens, the portion of people in the labor force may (or may not) continue to decline. For older people, leisure is a more central concern.

Changing Concepts of Leisure

As leisure becomes more central, its meaning may change. Leisure has been conceptualized in four basic contexts: time, activities, state of existence, or state of mind. In terms of time, leisure usually refers to some portion of people's lives in which they have comparatively greater freedom to do what they want. Aristotle called this "available time" (De Grazia, 1961). Such time may be thought of as something negative; Veblen (1899) bemoaned the emergence of a new leisure class in the late 1800s that consumed time unproductively, merely displaying their wealth. Another way of conceptualizing leisure as time is "the time surplus remaining after the practical necessities of life have been attended to" (May & Petgen, 1960).

For leisure defined as "free time," M. Kaplan (1960) identified several kinds of free time that have emerged in society, including

- permanent voluntary leisure of the rich,
- temporary involuntary leisure of the unemployed,
- regularly allocated voluntary leisure of the employed,
- permanent incapacity of those with disabilities, and
- voluntary retirement of the aged.

Obviously, these kinds of free time have different consequences for those who have them. A holiday differs in meaning from retirement in fundamental ways.

Leisure has also been defined as certain types of activities. The ancient Greek word for leisure, *schole*, means "serious activity without the pressure of necessity" (Goodman, 1965, p. 31). This term does not imply a strict distinction from work, nor is it synonymous with the term *recreation*, because the Greeks had another term meaning "playful amusement to pass the time." The English word *school* is derived from the Greek word for leisure (Larrabee & Meyersohn, 1958). This conception of leisure as activity has been broadened to include

a number of occupations in which the individual may indulge of his own free will—either to rest, to amuse himself, to add to his knowledge or improve his skills disinterestedly, or to increase his voluntary participation in the life of the community after discharging his professional, family, and social duties. (Dumazedier, 1960, p. 526)

When leisure is defined as activities or occupations, it quickly becomes apparent that no activity can be said to serve always as leisure for the participant, but many activities are typically undertaken in the role of leisure. Playing baseball, for instance, is typically undertaken more or less voluntarily during non-work time and is pleasurable for the participant. There are exceptions. A few people play baseball to earn money. Some may feel that they have to play the

game to protect their jobs or to win the friendship of those who are important to them. For most people, however, playing baseball is leisure activity.

If leisure is defined as a state of existence, it is, as Aristotle said, the “absence of the necessity of being occupied” (De Grazia, 1961). This state has also been thought of as “a mood of contemplation” (Mead, 1958). Thus, leisure is often used as an adjective to mean unhurried, tranquil, or without regard to time. Leisure defined as a state of existence may also be tied to religious celebration. Pieper (1952) believes that leisure is a sense of celebration that characterizes the lives of some people who accept the world and their place in the world with joy. Leisure is therefore a state of grace bestowed upon those capable of spiritual celebration. We cannot obtain it just because we want to. It is a gift.

Leisure is also defined as a state of mind. Many psychologists have written about leisure in terms of perceived freedom or internal locus of control. That is, the important thing in defining an experience as leisure is that individuals believe that they are free or that they are controlling events rather than being controlled by events. According to psychologist John Neulinger (1974),

Leisure has one and only one essential criterion, and that is the condition of perceived freedom. Any activity carried out freely, without constraint or compulsion, may be considered to be leisure. “To leisure” implies being engaged in an activity as a free agent and of one’s own choice. (p. 9)

Given the previous information and definitions, leisure will need redefinition for the rapidly changing world and time:

Leisure is living in relative freedom from the external compulsive forces of one’s culture and physical environment so as to be able to act from internally compelling love in ways that are personally pleasing, intuitively worthwhile, and provide a basis for faith. (Godbey, 2011, p. 12)

This definition is a departure from commonly used ones because there is no reference to time or a person’s state of mind. *Relative freedom* recognizes that freedom has to be and should be limited. This relative *freedom from* provides an opportunity to act—*freedom to*. The motivation to act is *internally compelling love*. This idea includes internal motivation but goes beyond it (Goodale & Godbey (1989).

For an activity to be *intuitively worthwhile* may mean that the first several times a person does it, it is not leisure. If a person grows to love it, however, there is no longer any need to justify the experience—the person begins to have faith in it. That faith can broaden to faith that life is worth living.

Thinking Flexibly About the Future

The extent to which we can use our imagination (and our built-in crap detectors) after getting grounded in world trends may help us find the right questions to ask about the future—the relevant issues. Before going further, therefore, here are a few what ifs that may loosen up our thinking. These scenarios, an expected sequence of events, may not be true but could be. Imagining them may make it easier to understand the ways the world might change.

What If the Future Belongs to the Last Poor Nation?

The higher people's quality of life, education level, economic well-being, and health, the greater the likelihood they will quit reproducing their population. No country in Europe, Oceania, or North America has a total fertility rate of 2.1 or higher, nor does Japan or many other comparatively well-off countries. All these human populations are declining—some rapidly. Poor nations produce most of the new citizens of the world. As wealthy countries are depopulated, they will likely be repopulated by people from the poor nations with a high birth rate. Thus, for example, Romania, Morocco, and other usually poorer nations are repopulating Spain, whose birth rate is about half that of replacement level. Even small crowded countries such as Taiwan have immigration, almost all from poorer countries. As privileged people die out and are replaced by poorer people, what will happen to tourism? How will sport be changed? Will leisure decline? Will these new immigrants go through a cycle of consumer-based leisure, as did the populations that lived there before them?

What If Endless Energy Produces Endless Leisure?

The ability of humans to produce endless energy appears to be near. In spite of massive resistance from oil, coal, and other fossil fuel producers, advances in solar, geothermal, hydrogen, wind, and alternative sources of fuel make it possible, even likely, that energy can be provided at a fraction of the current cost, as do technological advances that allow cars to use their own motion to generate fuel, houses that use monitoring devices to make the best use of energy, smart appliances, buildings—and people. Recycling has few theoretical limits—*garbage* is simply a word expressing ignorance. If people have endless energy, the need to work may decline dramatically. Closed-loop systems using endless energy might mean human purpose has to be largely reinvented (or discovered). Robots are already doing many manufacturing and agricultural tasks, and service and educational jobs are also being affected.

Such changes would mean the progression that humans can make in their judgment of what is interesting, worthwhile, and pleasurable. Pleasure, at first, may be only what feels good to the body. Slowly, the pleasures of the mind can also become desirable. People can become more complex, more moral,

more independent, and self-regulating. Conversely, society could go to hell in a handbasket. Leisure, of course, is the final test of a civilization. (Playwright George Bernard Shaw refers to this in his play *Misalliance*).

Leisure may become central to our lives. Here's what an expert on work futures has to say:

. . . we will have to reconsider leisure. For a long time, the wealthiest lived a life of leisure at the expense of the toiling masses. The rise of intelligent machines would make it possible for many more people to live such lives without exploiting others. Today's triumphant puritanism finds such idleness abhorrent. Well then, let people enjoy themselves busily. What else is the true goal of the vast increases in prosperity we have created? (Wolf, 2015, "Been There," para. 4).

Finally, we get an answer to the question of what is the consequence of having the ability to produce much more stuff than is needed. That answer is to begin building lives around leisure, not work. It is the obvious answer that has been hiding behind the foolish talk of endless growth that has nearly ruined us.

Leisure is not about the end of regulation or control, only the transfer of regulation or control from institutions of society to the individual. Endless energy might necessitate a huge educational effort to prepare people for lives centered on leisure. Most forms of leisure appreciation require learning and a period in which the activity may not be enjoyable. The first playing of the violin may sound like an aroused cat. The first attempt to fly a kite or make the characters of calligraphy may end on the ground or in ugly failure. Gradually, however, deep appreciations are learned, skill is developed, and success comes. The pleasures of the mind, of the spirit, are of a higher level than the pleasures of the body, at least according to classic Western philosophers. How can opportunities for such learning be increased? For many leisure activities, people have a "career" of involvement, almost like a work career. The leisure career may define the person as much as the work career. Serious leisure may also advance education as much as school learning. For the higher forms of leisure, enjoyment is "learned" in most cases. This means the community must provide opportunities for younger people to be exposed to different leisure activities to learn skills, gain understanding, and practice. When that happens, as has happened in my small town where there are many art exhibits, an arts festival, and many classes at low cost dealing with painting, sculpture, drawing, and other visual arts, it is evident that most people have some artistic ability. They have been taught to want to express it.

Lives built around leisure, with work being done more and more by intelligent machines that displace workers without warning, mean something else. Martin Wolf argued,

. . . we need to redistribute income and wealth on a large scale. Such redistribution could take the form of a basic income for every adult, together with funding for education and training at any stage of a person's life. In this way, the potential for a more enjoyable life might become a reality. (Wolf, 2015, "Been There," para. 5)

Human worth must be recognized in terms other than earned income.

What If Climate Change Makes All Leisure Occur Indoors?

Right now, in many parts of China, India, and elsewhere, being outdoors is horrifically unhealthy and unpleasant. Already, hotels and resorts have built huge domes within which many forms of leisure take place, from wedding receptions to children's games. Walking for pleasure is the leading outdoor recreation activity in many countries, but it is increasingly unhealthy in areas where air pollution is severe. Also, a hotter atmosphere combined with aging populations in most countries means that walking in malls, in arenas, on treadmills, and in other indoor areas will likely increase. "Outdoor recreation" may largely become an activity of the past, except for privileged people who have healthy outdoor environments. Life may take place almost totally inside structures designed to minimize the harmful effects of bad air and temperatures too hot for sport or outdoor recreation. If the earth begins to burn up, people may live underground, in darkness, in shade, or in permanent air-conditioning (and permanent air-conditioning would only add to global warming).

What If the Libertarian View Prevails?

In many ways, government has failed the publics they serve. Suppose government begins to shrink and wither away in the next few decades. Here is a Libertarian view of the future according to Michael Vassar (as cited in Frank, 2015):

In five years, an estimated 5.9 billion people will own smartphones. Anyone who can code, or who has something to sell, can be a free agent on the global marketplace. You can work from anywhere on your laptop and talk to anyone in the world; you can receive goods anywhere via drone and pay for them with bitcoins — that is, if you can't 3-D print them at home. As software eats everything, prices will plunge. You won't need much money to live like a king; it won't be a big deal if your job is made obsolete by code or a robot. The rich will enjoy bespoke luxury goods and be first in line for new experiences, but otherwise there will be no differences among people; inequality will increase but cease to matter. Politics as we know it will lose relevance. Large, gridlocked states will be disrupted like any monopoly.

Customer-citizens, armed with information, will demand transparency, accountability, choice. (para. 2)

How would this work? Can people live well without much government in their lives? Who will build and maintain roads? Could “B” Corporation, which may earn a profit but is primarily focused upon creating social benefits, create and manage the highway system? Perhaps a better informed public can reshape and limit government in ways that make each person more independent. In such a world, leisure would be invented and reinvented by individuals and common interest groups, perhaps using social media. Sport and tourism would each become more individualized. People would live off the grid not only from the standpoint of energy, but also from the standpoint of nations, states, and local governments. Under such a system, leisure would be much less regulated by government. Drugs, sex, alcohol, and social and religious customs would be left largely to the individual. Use of private property for leisure purposes would also be a matter of individual preference. The success of such a system would seem to rely even more on the intelligence and morality of the individual.

For the future of leisure, tourism, and sport, it becomes clear that the future, although unpredictable, will be different from the past, that the rate of change will be stunningly quick, and that leisure will become more critical to the well-being of people. Its use will shape the quality of the environment and people’s ability to live in it.

Will Life Be Centered Around Leisure?

The purpose of this book is more to raise questions than to give answers. The biggest question to be raised is simply this: Will life center around leisure rather than work in the near future?

Many authors have raised this possibility before. Charles Brightbill (1960) argued that leisure would be integrated into life in ways that made it the center of life, or at least coequal with leisure. In the 1920s, George Cutten (1926) thought leisure would become a threat as it became more prevalent and must be prepared for. Numerous authors have argued that most forms of work would be replaced by machines, computers, and so forth. These arguments are different from the arguments of ancient philosophers that leisure was of a higher order than work or was the basis of a good life. In most ancient arguments, leisure, although of central importance, was thought to be limited in terms of who could have it. In many cases, leisure was thought to be wasted on the average person, who needed a little “recreation,” just as the dog needs a walk, but was not capable of using leisure in worthwhile ways and was more naturally attuned to work.

Historically, leisure was usually for a tiny minority—royalty, the rich, the well educated, or those in a few occupations that made leisure legitimate

sometimes—the artist, the poet, the professor, the priest, the entrepreneur who found a way to make money that did not take up much of his or her time. Leisure was also mostly for males. This is not to argue that play was absent from daily life for many—but that is another story.

Necessity pushed work to the center of life for much of the time humans have been on earth. Although some tribal societies did not work long hours, the bigger point may have been that work was at the center of what was done—it was necessary to engage in it to survive. Most of those necessary activities can now be done by smart machines, or by the sun, including energy-generating houses, cars, roads, and tides. Conservation, recycling, and the application of computer-assisted technology to the necessary work of humans will dramatically change daily life.

Work was not always at the center of social arrangements, but the industrial revolution put it there. Life began to be centered around work, which was organized in factories.

Industrialism produced changes that made former leisure habits impossible for the peasants who had become the working class. New work patterns, the emergence of capitalism, and the urban environment, which was largely an unplanned phenomenon accompanying the factory system, made former ways of life and leisure obsolete. The factory system was a catastrophe for peasant culture. Likewise, peasant culture was a catastrophe for the factory system. Peasants often preferred being idle, drinking, working when the mood struck them, and enjoying the pleasures of the body over the pleasures of the mind. These situations led to a series of attempts to reform the leisure of the peasants, who had now become the “working class.” The employers as well as upwardly mobile employees believed that changing the leisure habits of the working class was fundamentally important in determining the success of industrialism. Many, including Victorian novelist Charles Dickens in his book *Hard Times*, also recognized that leisure time was the only arena for the “re-creation” of the physical and psychological capacity to work. By the 1830s, reformers understood that new work patterns had deprived members of society of the means of expressing their religious, family, and self-definitional values.

At the same time, these reformers held that leisure was perhaps the best place to inculcate the personal values essential for a growing commercial economy: self-control, familism, and ‘respectability.’ (Cross, 1990, p. 156)

The growing commercial economy was a central reason for work becoming the center of life—for workers willing to begin working when a whistle blew and stopping only when it blew again. Work became valued for its own sake rather than merely being a means to an end. The ideology of work as purification through suffering, *laborare est orare*—to work is to pray, finds its

place in religious interpretations of holy books and teachings. Most cultures that thought work was a good thing and leisure was suspect thought this because starvation was a possibility, as was freezing to death or experiencing other threats to well-being that work might overcome. What happens when there is too much food, too many things, too much energy, too much clothing, too many electronic devices, too much transportation? What happens when capacity outstrips demand? What happens when the paid work efforts of many people are no longer needed?

Now suppose that this situation is combined with a prohibition against buying lots of “stuff,” because of human-caused climate change. Suppose tax rates make it less and less attractive to earn lots of money and spend it on luxuries? Suppose the idea of endless consumption as a right comes to an end—by necessity, by people starting to understand that they are killing the planet. In combination, these two forces could put leisure at the heart of everyday life.

How will societies reorganize? If the need for everyone to work for pay declines sharply, what does that mean for capitalism? The bigger issue may be the most fundamental: human purpose. If humans are comparatively free to do what they want, what will happen? Leisure is not inherently a good thing, but it may be what human progress is driving us toward.